

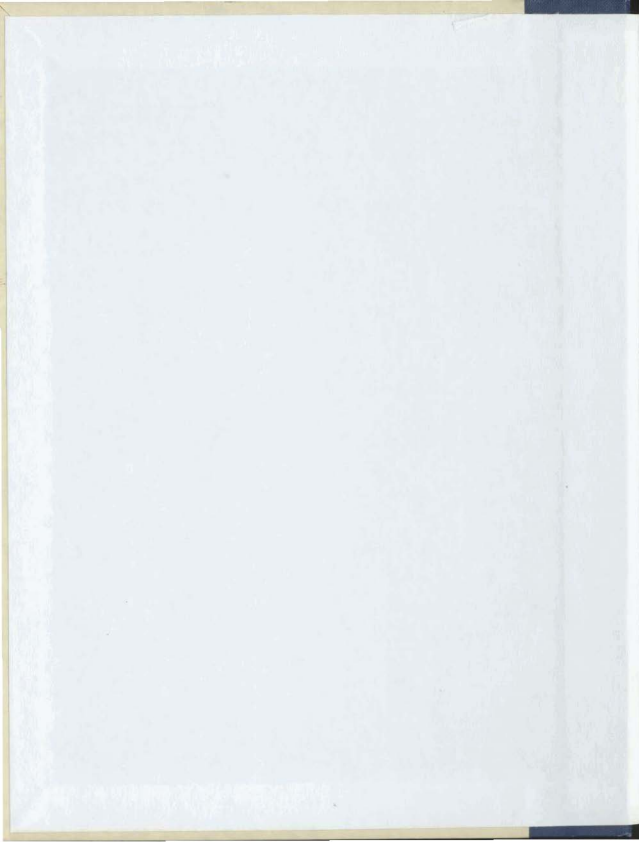
EASTERN NEWFOUNDLAND'S COOPERATIVE ARTS FESTIVAL
A STUDY OF VALUES AND VALUE CONFLICTS

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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LESLIE STERNBERG



EASTERN NEWFOUNDLAND'S COOPERATIVE ARTS FESTIVAL

A STUDY OF VALUES AND VALUE CONFLICTS

BY

LESLIE STERNBERG



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Leslie Sternberg

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to describe the Northern Bay Festival of the Arts (a fictitious name), an annual summer event on the east coast of Newfoundland. It is a study of the region as a whole, rather than of a single community, and considers the social and the economic effects of festival activities on the value systems of the local population and of those outsiders who participated in the festival. The analysis is based on the author's finding that the notion of "festival" held by some of the outsiders to the area (tourists and festival workers alike) was at odds with the notion of festival goals and activities held by the local people themselves. The alienation of outsider from insider in the festival's operations is documented through a detailed discussion of its various aspects, including the presentation of five case studies, and the general problems of a clash between the values of a traditional people and the values of outsiders visiting the area. It is suggested that the local population is in a sense tied to a particular, historically significant set of values which precludes their viewing the festival as other than an opportunity to develop economically, and that this orientation was reinforced by the work of people from the provincial government and the university Extension Service. This thesis examines the implications of this more limited view of "community development"--as it is fostered by, and implicated in, the activities of the festival--against a background of community development theory and practice.

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INTRODUCTION

In this work the author intends to study value systems in Newfoundland. Two value systems will be compared and discussed in the light of the model of insiders versus outsiders. One set of values is that exhibited by certain rural communities in Bonnavista Bay, in the eastern part of Newfoundland, and the other being that set of values maintained by visitors to the communities. The factor which brings these two value systems together is a summer festival of the arts and crafts which attracts tourists, artists and politicians to the rural communities in order to participate in scheduled events. Since these different and varied people were brought into contact for the single purpose of the festival, it appeared that it would be feasible to use the summer event as a focal point for the study of Newfoundland value systems.

This study is, then, basically and simply an anthropological description of a certain aspect of an annual summer festival of art which takes place in rural Newfoundland. The festival is discussed with respect to comparative values and value conflicts among two groups of people, the local residents (hereafter referred to as insiders) and the tourists, festival personnel and government sponsors (hereafter referred to as outsiders). These government sponsors have also been referred to as patrons (Wadel, 1969; Paine, 1969).

Although this is an anthropological sketch of two different value systems, held by two different sets of people, because of problems in the fieldwork endeavour which shall be elaborated upon later in this chapter, and due to conflicts in the area of community development in Newfoundland, the author finds that this thesis cannot be a straightforward mathematical or scientific presentation of fact. Since the values which are being dealt with herein are constantly changing social variables, and depend largely on people's emotional reactions to their environment, the author found very few concrete conclusions other than those dealing with the continuity of change.

Often it was impossible to obtain straightforward answers about events or personal reactions from community residents if one were an outsider. One of the things which the author attempts to show within this work is that pre-existing values and ways of life cannot necessarily be changed by making them a formal code through legislation, whether it be initiated by local, provincial or federal bodies. With respect to this hypothesis, community development programs in Newfoundland will be discussed as they relate to the fieldwork area and to the festival in particular.

Although the presentation is somewhat ethnographic, it does not intentionally focus on one particular community, nor does it constitute a community study. To study the event in its entirety, one must include all the communities which participated, of which there were seven.

To fully understand what has occurred in the festival, it is necessary to include not only the appearance, possession and history of items of local material and social culture, but also the

community and outside attitudes towards these. Under items of material culture, I have included only those items which are functional in the socio-economic world of the local people. It will be seen in later discussions of the economic function of the festival and other community development projects in the fieldwork area that the value systems of the insiders differs from that of the outsiders in relation to items of functional and of non-functional uses (See Foster, 1962, p. 14). To fully understand the depth of the value systems of the local people, the history of the area must be brought to the foreground.

The value systems of the two groups are presented through case studies where it will be made apparent how these people react to each other, to given situations, to animate and inanimate objects, what they believe in, what they scoff at, what they hold as sacred and as profane. In this way the author hopes to present the order which is apparent in the local scheme of social and cultural values. One of the major ways of explaining the different types of ordering in the festival situations through a discussion of the creation and the maintenance of social boundary systems. Every society has a set of unwritten rules of behavior which the local person who is familiar with the code automatically follows, but the outsider, used to another code, cannot always detect. These unwritten laws help to maintain a certain order in the day-to-day social interactions of the people who told them as a part of their value system, as it gives them a guideline to follow in their informal interaction, whether these be of social, economic or religious nature. For a further definition of informal contracts see Foster, 1961. These

boundaries act as systems of social control, and when they are understood by the outsider can be used as methods and models through which the society can be scientifically ordered. When the unwritten codes of behavior were not comprehended, and hence not followed by outsiders, the insiders became annoyed with the apparent irrational behavior of the strangers. This also worked conversely in that outsiders could not understand motives of behavior of insiders in certain instances and resented some of the misunderstood behavior. Conflict resulted from these misinterpretations.

Even though everyone connected with the festival was not at fault when events did not function smoothly, it must be pointed out that those people, even if they tried to remain neutral, found themselves immersed in conflict because of the intensity and the closeness of social relationships. In Charles Darwin's terms, the festival grew like a tangled bank, one part becoming inseparable from another until all appeared confusion.

It is interesting to contemplate a tangled bank clothed with many plants of many kinds, with birds singing in the bushes, with various insects flitting about, with worms crawling through the damp earth, and to reflect that these elaborately constructed forms, so different from each other, and dependent on each other in so complex a manner, have all been produced by laws acting around us.

(Darwin in Hyman, 1962)

In the case of the festival these laws or boundaries are ones of social and economic control, as opposed to the natural or biological laws Darwin was concerned with. However, the basic concept is the same. All factors are interdependent and all must be understood in their relationships to each other before one factor can be fully comprehended.

The Fieldwork Experience

In the same vein, this report of Newfoundland value systems is coloured by the author's own experiences and problems during the fieldwork experience. It is true that the place of the anthropologist in the field can oftentimes be as interesting a study as the fieldwork itself. From the author's own position it was found to be impossible to write this thesis without first analyzing the anthropologist's relationship with figures of authority, with the local population, and with the legal and social situations of the fieldwork experience, and to interpret these with relation to the value system of the local people.

The author arrived with a preconceived idea of what the event was going to be like by talking to people who participated in it the year before from artistic, personal and political spheres. Between this gathered information and the author's own observations, however, there was a wide schism. Upon study the situation was found to be quite unique from anything described. It was therefore felt to be appropriate to witness the festival for itself and not to hinder the mind with preconceived judgements based on obviously different events.

During the first year of the festival the usual method of accommodation was to camp on the beach. The author intended to live this way. As it was difficult to spot family alliances, local in-groups and out-groups, and because the anthropologist did not want to be associated with any intra-community rivalries, it was thought to be most wise to obtain private accommodations.

In the meantime, however, the local community council altered camping regulations so that only by special dispensation from the mayor was one allowed to camp at all. For several reasons the author was in no position to reside in the normal tourist accommodations, so an alternative was chosen which regulated the anthropologist to a lower status in the eyes of the local people, that of a transient camper or a hippie.

After camping on the beach without permission for a few days, a friend told the author that she could camp in his garden. At the crack of dawn the following morning an anonymous community council member called his mother and told her the camper would have to move as a law was being broken by allowing camping on private property. Several times during the summer the author noticed the local committee chairman had people camping in his backyard. This woman was also intimidated by accusations that the author was associated with illegal drug sales and would consequently corrupt her son. This was told to the anthropologist by the public relations manager of the festival.

Another friend showed the author an unfenced piece of land where it would be possible to camp. Later that summer local children stole over two hundred dollars worth of personal property

from this campsite and the RCMP raided it four times without warrant. When the author complained to the festival director that she was being unnecessarily harassed, he shrugged it off saying that the authorities were probably looking for drugs. Several times the author went to the extreme of being rude to friends from town to assure local people that her association with this crowd of which they did not approve was at a minimum.

The local people figured there must be a reason for the repeated investigations and became suspicious of the anthropologist. For the sake of the fieldwork, the author asked the festival director to help clarify her position with the RCMP, but he stated he could not interfere with the job of the police, and if there were problems with the law, there must be some reason for them.

While the festival director acted without friendship towards the anthropologist, one employee quoted him as saying he liked the outside fieldworker. In the beginning he was quite antagonistic towards the author but later claimed she grew on people as they got to know her. Always, however, the author found a discrepancy between what the director told her and what the other people said in general about the fieldworker herself, or about the festival in general.

Most of the local residents were friendly, inquiring after the author's health and offering food and accommodations. The author was told by the local doctor that they were curious about the anthropologist and invited her to tea as they might a "token nigger", to use a cliché phrase. He likened the anthropologist's position to that of a gypsy in the British Isles. They are all

over the countryside and people are aware that they're there, and sometimes they even allow them to camp on their land or to sleep in their barns, if they are really liberal, but they would never think of bringing one into their house. They'd be afraid they might be stolen from or harmed." True to his word, the doctor allowed the author to camp in his barn when it rained, but got extremely nervous when she slept in his house. It became necessary to hide from the cleaning woman who was a local lady, and the anthropologist was not allowed to tell anyone she was living there.

Aside from being associated with gypsies, a St. John's playwright who visited the area said people thought the author was a witch. He suggested that perhaps this was due to the author's physical appearance and to the fact that she kept some pet cats in the field with her, and the local people are superstitious about cats. While no one remarked about the author's dress in public, and she did not overtly dress as a hippie, the other artists stated that the anthropologist's appearance was certain to upset the local people; however, the only criticism of hippies the author heard was in the nature of social values, not physical appearance.

To summarize this chapter, the author's social position in the area determined who could be readily associated with and who would be less accessible. It also limited somewhat the type and the amount of data received. For instance, it was easier to gather information about insider/outsider relationships as the author could perceive local attitudes towards herself and compare these with other reactions to non-local people.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The author's intention here is to show that the society presented in the discussion of this work rejects certain aspects of the moral values of modern and urban life due to structural factors which make the rural society seemingly bound by history and convention next to the more "progressive" mainstream of North American society.

Newfoundland is no exception to the universal conflict between people who make a basic living from the soil and the sea, or the natural environment, and those engaged in complex activities in big business enterprises, transportation and mass media. Even though the conflict is universal, the situational particulars are unique in this case. While the communities would be happy merely to progress at their own rate towards urban evolution, the government, with projects in the areas of social and economic development, encourages the small communities to attain equal status with the larger growth centres.

Are we really ready to open up our communities to new settlers, perhaps fifty new families? Although we have come a long way in the last ten years can the existing facilities handle all these new families adequately? We must think about these things before letting more people move in than we can support with the facilities we now have.

(Eastport Peninsula local fieldworker, personal communication.)

In the past, evolution has been slow in Newfoundland. Rapid change is a recent addition which complicates the lives of the rural dwellers. Often the ruralite does not foresee all the factors of change and is in some way annoyed, disappointed or hurt by the final result. The rural dweller's naivety in these projects together with the government's inability to explain them in terms he understands, creates suspicion and aggression on the part of the community residents.

The villager has been victimized by persons more knowledgeable than he since the beginning of time. He knows he is a rustic, a country bumpkin who, in his necessary trips to town will be taken advantage of by men without conscience. He needs the city, but he hates and fears it. He fumes at humiliation and imagines slights even when they are not intended.

(Foster, 1962, p. 78)

Basically what is happening is that they are leaving the realm of their familiar world and entering into one which is frightening, unknown and for which they are often ill prepared. "Part of the problem is that the government is already attempting to equalize all people and all places by a process of homogenization. This process may work for milk, but it raises problems in a world where people are becoming aware of their genetic and environmental uniqueness" (Lotz, 1971, p. 4).

Part of being history bound is ordering the familiar world into sections which are useable for certain sexes, age groups, occupations, etc., in certain social, economic, geographic or historic contexts. These sections can be physically demarcated, such as land boundaries, or socially designated, such as friendship

patterns.

It is hypothesized in this thesis that the influx of urban influences breaks down these long-established orders and imposes its own order on the rural society, offering another threat to tradition. The ruralite appears to resist change because it destroys certain social and economic orders which maintain his lifestyle. However "the cultural innovations of urban areas have prestige attached to them. This prestige is the motivation which produces the outward and downward diffusion of ideas and behavior forms" (Foster, 1962, p. 29).

In this study of the circumstances surrounding the festival, the author will attempt to classify behavior of two groups, the insiders and the outsiders. The insiders here are in general history bound, and the outsiders most often are the initiators and "progressives".

Classification of behavior is valuable for two reasons. It simplifies and orders otherwise complex and apparently disorganized human systems of action and reaction. Secondly, by permitting the observer to have a clear view of the individual, dyad or group, it enables him to make more accurate decisions regarding large numbers of people, or larger scaled systems. The theoretical framework, then, comes somewhat from social psychologists such as Mead, but also from Levi-Strauss and Eliade, both of whom indicate that man tends to seek order out of chaos, and it is partially in this manner that a society is structured.

Thus anthropology considers the whole social fabric as a network of different types of orders. The kinship system provides a way to order individuals according to certain rules; social organization is another way of ordering individuals and groups; social stratifications, whether economic or political, provide us with a third type; and all these orders can themselves be ordered by showing the kind of relationships which exist among them.

(Levi-Strauss, 1963, p. 32)

In this discussion the author holds two assumptions which must be brought to the foreground here. The first of these is that one of the fundamental characteristics of man is a fear of the unknown. There are, of course, additional psychological ramifications to this. The second comes as a continuation of the first. It is that man, the social being, seeks to understand his social relationships, and in doing so, defines his world by creating boundaries, hence achieving an order which is necessary for his life to function smoothly. One of the by-products of social behavior, then, would be maintenance of structure, or rules of behavior, through a system of boundary lines or laws beyond which normal behavior ceases and we encounter the deviant or the social outcast.

While the surface events of the festival and of social relations surrounding the festival activities appear chaotic at this point, through this analysis the author hopes to order events by interpreting and defining the relevant factors. In this manner it would be possible to code informal behavior patterns so as to provide a sociological map of the communities studied.

We start out...with a chaotic conception of the whole, and by closer analysis we will gradually arrive at simpler ideas; thus we shall proceed from the imaginary concrete to less and less complex abstractions, until we get at the simplest conception. Thus once attained, we might start on our return journey until we finally come back...but this time not as a chaotic notion of an integrated whole, but as a rich aggregate of many conceptions and relations.

(Marx in Hyman, 1962, p. 118)

To fully understand the workings of the history bound system of these people, it is necessary to view the separate pieces in relationship to each other so that the entire scheme can be perceived, not only in its microcosmic form, but in the macrocosm as well. It would be insufficient and distorted to report only detached portions of a total system and expect to achieve any analytic results from this.

Social, economic and juridical phases of a culture cannot be fully understood without an understanding of religious forms which, in turn, are expressed through special speech patterns, social rites, mythology, music and material culture.

(Foster, 1962, p. 14)

Since no effort was made to study as a comparative group any other outpost situation in Newfoundland, the author cannot say these findings hold true for all such areas of habitation. Neither can the author say the phenomenon of the festival is typical since nowhere else in Newfoundland is there another such event with which to compare it. It is suspected, however, that if the festival were initiated in any of the hundreds of outposts in the province the outcome would have been quite similar.

HAPPY
ADVENTURE



SANDY
COVE



ST. CHAD'S



BURNSIDE
(north)



BURNSIDE
(south)



CLAY COVE



BACKGROUND

The Communities

To further introduce the reader to the seven communities so that the value systems of their residents are better comprehended, a historic presentation at this time is necessary. The communities' place in the scheme of North American values can be understood more thoroughly in relation to social, political and economic values if their historic evolution is interpreted. In general, it was assumed by some mainland media and by some tourists who came in contact with the author and with the people of the outport communities studied here, that Newfoundlanders were more conservative and more traditional than the Ontario resident; for example, in relation to changing social and economic trends due to isolation and to lack of access to the more "all-American" norms and values of the large urban centres of our country. Also, Newfoundland's late entrance into Confederation kept it apart from the rest of Canada's trends towards "sophistication". This is not to say the "sophistication" or "Americanization" is "good" or "superior". The author intends to point out here only that Newfoundland evolved differently from other parts of Canada. In this chapter the author intends to present the historic backgrounds to isolation and to social and economic and political development to show why conflict existed between the value systems of the outsiders and the community residents.

The people who settled these areas first came from other settlements by boat. For the most part they were fishermen. Thus, the extremities of land and the offshore islands and places with good harbours were settled first and the interiors later by people who did not depend on the on shore fishery.

Until 1791 British Parliament banned settlement of a permanent nature in the colony, in hopes of discouraging the colony from becoming independent. Those settlers who were discovered had their property confiscated and their homes destroyed. For this reason those who desired to remain in the colony permanently chose more remote areas in which to farm and to fish. According to unpublished findings (1970) by geographer, and native of the area studied herein, A. P. Dyke, the colonists' fear of the consequences kept capital and labour investments low, and contact with the outside world at a minimum. Transportation and communication facilities were poor and therefore aided these settlers. Since fertile soil was available only in limited quantity this ruled out large population clusters because the land could only support a minimum of families (Dyke, 1968) (Matthews, 1968).

The main variables determining the population of and distance between settlements in rural Newfoundland have been the utilizable natural resources of the area... The fact that marine resources have traditionally been the most important in Newfoundland explains why most of the resource-based settlements are coastal.

(Dyke 1968, p. 57)

An early mention of the area being settled is in Prowse's History of Newfoundland, where he refers to a petition forwarded by William Dowling and Thomas Oxford in 1679 on behalf of the

inhabitants of Newfoundland who were expecting French assaults. In the petition it indicates that this area had been "pressed out" for seven years at that time.

While it seems as though the area was first established as a settlement in 1672, it was undoubtedly used as a summer fishing ground for the west of England fishery (Matthews, 1968). Apparently no other communities existed in this area as the next mention of a settlement is Greenspond Island in 1698 by Innis (Hancock, in Eastport Peninsula Newsletter, 1971). By the year 1700 community B (a community which participated in the 1971 festival) was estimated to have a population of 43 full-time residents who operated three stages and seven boats. Since all the communities on the Avalon Peninsula were destroyed by the French in 1696 and were only resettled later, it would seem that community B can claim to have the longest uninterrupted settlement of any community in Newfoundland (Hancock, 1971). This would allow for a lot of traditions to be built up as the society there remained relatively untouched by the usual purges of the French and the British.

The population growth of the seven communities has been relatively slow as census data supports. In 1869 the population numbered 1,257 people. Now the statistics read about 2,000. This includes communities which were not settled in 1869, according to census data (see appendix).

The area to the west was used according to the residents, as sources of wood and game before it was settled or taken over by the government. As conditions along the shore became crowded, people moved inland or to places with inferior harbours. According to local residents most of the communities were settled about one

hundred years ago. The people who chose to live in the inland communities or ones without adequate harbours were mostly farmers, merchants or Labrador fishermen. For instance, community A has a shallow, sandy-bottomed harbour, and, as a result its settlement pattern and social structure differs somewhat from community B, a fishing community. Many of the items of material culture which were functional in community B were no longer necessary in the more refined life at community A. For example, gear used for fishing fell out of use as the immigrating families turned to agriculture. As A was a newer community it was more open to innovation, and new ideas and commodities were brought in to the area as the community became the centre for merchant activity.

Community A is a crossroads community. That is, it is located where several of the roads leading to other communities join to provide access to the Trans-Canada Highway. It has been discovered through other studies (Eliade, 1968; Foster, 1962; Maybury-Lewis, 1967), that a community situated in such a spot becomes an important centre. Community A is as a hub of a wheel around which supportive activity takes place. "A market links sets of communities which are scattered around it in radial fashion like the planets of the solar system around the sun." (Wolf, 1966, p. 40). While some communities are situated in linear relationships to other communities, community A is located in a centrally defined relationship. Unlike the linear communities which form independent links as a part of a chain which has a beginning and an ending but no physical focus point, community A, as it is the merchant centre for the area, is the central focus point for the seven communities. More people tend to focus on

poly on community A. This community becomes the primary area, therefore, for festivities, celebration or simple relaxation. These social activities are one method of defining a crossroads community (Cox, 1971). Communication is exchanged here in the form of news, gossip and story telling. For the traveller and the merchant it is also the focus point as it is where the most people pass and, therefore, potentially beneficial economically and socially.

The attitude of the people of the other communities towards this central focus point is also rather special in that they realize the social and economic advantages of community A. The respect, and at times jealousy, shown towards community A (see case study no. 1) influences the self perception of some of the people residing there so that they regard their home as somewhat superior to the other settlements.

In these communities economic ties with the outside began as soon as the traditional local merchant monopoly declined and the crossroads community became the leader in these affairs (Wadel, 1966). Even before then the items obtainable by the merchant, even the form of currency used (when the barter and trade system was not used) were determined by higher authorities in the cities. Most of these things, currency, importation and exportation duties, taxes, pensions, quality and quantity of goods, the outporter takes for granted. The people talked about in this study do not often consider "where" or "why." Only more recently with community development programs emphasizing not only "where" and "why," but "how" and "when," does the local resident in this area begin to link up his economic world with an outside economic structure the actual workings of which he still does not fully understand (Foster, 1962).

The residents see themselves as belonging to a closed social and economic network. That is, they feel that their livelihood is determined by the local resources, and that they are relatively divorced from opportunities the cities offer, (personal communication, local politicians). In reality, of course, this is an exaggeration. The residents will admit to a change due to community development in the last decade, but they still do not fully realize the range of outside ties that does exist (Wadel, 1969). Those ties are in the form of mass media and tourists, both of which influence a large part of the outporters' existence. The women are influenced, a representative from the Department of Community and Social Development indicated, because they tend to the tourists' needs and are home all day exposed to radio and television (Weatherburn, 1971). According to some local teachers, the children are affected because, being naturally inquisitive and in search of excitement, they find that both the tourists and mass media provide a relief from the boredom. The local children, however, are being influenced more and more by children from the outside (Weatherburn, 1971). Parents often are suspicious of the values these strange children may hold and try to restrict their influence over the local children.

The fact is that many adults...are afraid of their own and everyone else's children. The more frightened they become of their children the more restrictions they place on them, and the more restrictions they place on them the more trouble they have with them.

(Buehler, 1971, p. 2)

Isolation

Isolation, both economic and physical, was a product of the communities' historic backgrounds. Because they were largely clumped together at the eastern extremity of land, the communities were cut off geographically from westward settlements, island fashion. However, since the communities worked together cooperatively out of economic necessity, and since many of the residents came from similar backgrounds, the social isolation was not as great as might be expected. Island fashion, or family like, everyone knew everyone else and they, rather than being individuals, presented themselves as an extension of the community as it was and still is perceived by the outsider as a whole, (Weatherburn, 1971). Due to their economic orientation towards fishing, the people of the communities also extended the cognition of their world to the sea and the offshore islands. By settling this uninhabited territory, it no longer remained a strange world to them, but was brought into the realm of the familiar and the understood (Ellade, 1969).

Once this concept of familiar or home territory is realized, it is not too difficult to go one step farther and compare the familiar world, or the world of these communities, with the unfamiliar or the outside world. This outside world exists for these particular communities in two states, the simple outside world and the far removed outside world.

The reaction of the community residents towards unsettled or unknown areas of land is that it is foreign and therefore not comprehended as a part of their environment. Once this concept of familiar or home territory is taken into account

it is not difficult to apply it to values. This is done through a comparison of the familiar or inside world with the outside or unfamiliar world of tourists, politicians, artists and academics (see case study no. 3).

The simple outside world is the one with which residents have limited contact. This could be St. John's or even as far away as Toronto if some families have relations working there. The far removed outside world is that with which the communities have no relations. These are the worlds of news broadcasts and story books.

One of the outstanding characteristics of traditional societies is the opposition that they assume between their inhabited territory and the unknown and interminate space that surrounds it. The former is the world (more precisely our world), the cosmos; everything outside it is no longer a cosmos but a sort of other world, a foreign, chaotic space peopled by ghosts, demons, 'foreigners' (who are assimilated to demons and souls of the dead).

(Eliade, 1969, p 29)

The reason for presenting this concept in relation to the festival is because the representatives of the outside world posed a threat to the secure island world of the communities, a world which as a result of its limited contact with other worlds became a *womb of familiarity* for its residents. The tourist, a representative of the outside world, challenged this security by posing a threat to the familiarity. Government and tourists have both had an influence in changing the social and economic structure of the communities to compare more closely with the outside standards. Projects are being initiated by the government for the tourists and often the communities are not taken into

consideration in the decision making process, as claimed the festival director. "I think we are ready now to run our own festival, and our own communities, with the help of the government agencies, of course. I believe we are ready to make our own decisions, and I think we need the opportunity to show that we are capable of doing this."

Familiar ways of doing things and familiar physical surroundings are beginning to change with community development. The people's world is being forced open to new social and economic ideals which will permanently alter their lives. The communities will soon become an inseparable and functional part of the outside world (Lotz, 1970). Already the people realize that they have taken some steps that are irrefragable. The people do not always know what is expected of them, or what their lives will represent in the future. Tourists entering the communities are a constant reminder that the area is no longer a place of their own because the outsiders expect, and at times force, the local residents to live up to their expectations of a more sophisticated community. These tourists act differently from the people with whom the local residents are accustomed to interact. As they do not always condone the actions and the value systems of these outsiders, the local residents question how much they want to be a part of the outside world if this is the type of person it produces.

Tourists and other outsiders did not react to the same value system as did the community residents. Not only this, but often they appeared different in other overt ways. For instance, some tourists wore the standard stereotyped tourist garb, i.e. flowered shirts, straw hats and Bermuda shorts. Other, like the hippies, professed an anti-materialistic attitude by not spending any money

on food or lodging, but living in vans or tents, playing loud music, and having late parties on the beaches. The festival director stated that the community residents found it difficult to associate with the former group because they did not know what to say to them or how to approach them. Especially if a tourist were known to be from the university, the local residents were shy as they felt an educational handicap. The latter group, the director explained, were threatening to the community residents because they were associated with immoral activities (drugs, pre-marital sex) (see case study no. 3). Both groups the community residents found were unpredictable because they did not conform to the values set out by the local unwritten social codes. Because of this unpredictability, the community residents were ready to expect anything in the way of behavior from either group, and often rumors started over a misunderstood incident (see case study no. 5).

The community residents are afraid of the quick jump from their world into the world of the more sophisticated cities (Eastport Peninsula Newsletter, 1971). They are not sure that their communities could take the social and economic pressures brought on by such a transition. Usually development of values takes a gradual evolutionary course which is sometimes relatively slow compared to urban trends and the expectation of urban-centred development organizations. Community development projects and developers in the area are attempting to abbreviate history by inducing the communities to catch up without going through all the natural steps the more sophisticated social and economic centres have experienced. It remains to be seen if there will be any ill effects from this sort of progression. Some historic progression

can be seen from census data (see appendix).

New Community Values

The community development projects often create a new class of people holding different values from the rest of the community. G.M. Foster (1962) calls these people innovators. They are generally entrepreneurs who capitalize on the advantages, both social and economic, open to them through development programs. They could be merchants seeking to enlarge their businesses or local politicians who want more power and prestige in the community. The social and economic position of these people within the community is usually one of relative wealth. They have the means to acquire innovations inaccessible to the less well to do segment of the society. It is, therefore, the community developers find, these people who are most receptive to innovation.

The highest ranking individuals feel the need to risk out of proportion to their rank in the process of maintaining it or are the highest ranking individuals because they have been and continue to be innovators.

(Cancion, 1967, p. 925)

However, in these communities innovators seem basically conservative as their position affords them all they need in the way of social and economic benefits. They realize, said the festival director, that a government which radically attempts to change community structure could alter their position. As a result these people sometimes initiate their own projects in the communities in order to preserve the community as something of their own and to maintain a certain amount of control over their socio-economic lives. This is true in the area which is studied here as the people who have power

and prestige are committee members who deal directly with the government agencies.

The innovators studied in the communities of the festival area occupied places of prestige in the structure of the event. Those who were merchants or well to do citizens in other respects were placed in positions of power in the decision making bodies for this event. Due to the nature of the event tourists provided income for those businesses which were already set up to be economically profitable. Thus the festival structure reinforced the existing social and economic structure of the communities, although its aim was to provide new channels through which the people could operate (Franzen, 1971). The festival, then, did not cater to the innovator, but to the more conservative element of the society, those already established in positions of importance. Because these more reactionary people were running the event, the innovators were not given a chance to operate and were fought by the class of people known as the conservatives as they posed a threat to their secure social and economic world (Buehler, 1971).

In general the local communities exhibited these qualities in the class Foster might have labeled innovators.

1. Large numbers of the innovators were outsiders. That is, they were not natives of the area, or they had parents who were not natives.

2. A large number of the innovations are the result of families who have moved into the communities and have brought with them new ideas and new material culture and the will to change things.

3. The spirit of innovation runs in families.

It is easy to see here why the innovator in the festival situation was not given power. First he was an outsider either

geographically, by being born somewhere else, or by living away for a long time, or socially because he held different values from the rest of the community. Secondly, innovators presented themselves as a different class of people, apart from the rest of the community and opposed, in one way or another, the long standing social and economic traditions.

A lot of people had ideas, and the determination to make it (the festival) better. Some of the outsiders connected with the festival began to get the feeling, very early, through the winter and in the spring, that maybe it wasn't going to be better, but we tried anyway, and sure enough, it wasn't better.
(Buehler, 1971)

The Government and Community Development

While this internal restructuring of social and economic values is going on, pressures have arisen from the external society to reform the communities. Sometimes these outside influences correlate with the ideas of the smaller society but often they are quite different. The internal society in the communities studied here states it fears the pressures of the external society (Eastport Peninsula Newsletter, 1971; Director of Festival, personal communication). Since these people are strangers they are not trusted. The outport society is often drawn apart by conflict created by the difference in values between the internal and the external societies (Wadel, 1966).

An informed person in the field of community development, Jim Lotz, suggests that government often steps in not so much with an attitude of consciously disregarding the cultural qualities of the people they are attempting to help as "with vast backlogs of misinformation, misunderstanding and apparent ignorance" (Lotz, 1970).

During the festival it was often made apparent that these

government authorities did not know where all the problems stemmed from, or that a problem even existed at all. At times they seemed to turn a deaf ear to the cries for help the communities issued during the season, not because they did not wish to serve the communities, but because they held a different value system, which they could not relate to the values of the communities well enough to realize they were in need of assistance.

The local residents do not want to become an extension of St. John's society. While they accept eagerly improved plumbing and electrical facilities, they are wary of expanding the population and changing the economic base. As community A is a relocation centre under the Smallwood administration it was open to expanding population and change in economic structure. The government encouraged expansion by offering financial compensation to anyone from a less central community who wanted to settle in the community A area.

Also, while the values of the Department of Community and Social Development are overt and often put formally to the communities, the values of the communities are most often informal and not presented as a front to the outsiders. This enhances misunderstandings and also presents two value systems which seem to be operating side by side, but not harmoniously in the communities during the festival. Depending on who they are interacting with, a local or an outsider, a person will employ the specific value system familiar to whomever he is communicating with.

This is easily illustrated as the artists were all found to associate for the most part with each other. The government workers, likewise, associated with other government workers or at times with the artists, while the community residents remained aloof

and tended not to associate with outsiders extensively unless it was for business purposes (Buehler, 1971; Cox, 1971). While it was suggested several times that community residents participate in workshops, they informed the festival director that they felt the workshops were meant for the tourists and that they did not feel comfortable getting involved in them.

The Department of Community and Social Development stated that one of the major reasons the festival was organized was to integrate the social and the economic values of the communities with those of the more urbanized society. Other reasons for the festival being located in this area according to Franzen were:

1. As a cooperating group of communities the area could better handle accommodations and provide more facilities than could one community.

2. The area had a history of successful community development programs.

3. Facilities included up to date sanitary facilities, piped water and electricity.

4. The communities were sophisticated to a level that other small communities on the island had not attained because of the advanced educational system in the integrated school system and the exposure of the community to the exterior world.

5. Recreation facilities included two beaches in one community and one each in two other communities, various ponds, opportunities for boat rides and horseback rides, a lobster pound, a fish plant and a smokehouse.

6. The area was known for its fresh fruits and vegetables.

7. The communities were close to a national park which provided tourist attractions and camping facilities.



SALVAGE

SALVAGE
(Freshwater Pond)



ISLANDS
(Salvage Bay)





FESTIVAL
CENTRE
(Eastport)

PRINCE DYKE
MEMORIAL
THEATRE
(Eastport)



HANDICRAFTS
WORKSHOP
(S.U.F., Eastport)



THE FESTIVAL

This local festival of the arts was first organized in the spring of 1970. It was a last minute affair co-organized by the Department of Community and Social Development and the Memorial University Extension Service, and financed by a combination of federal and provincial grants. While it was designed as a development factor for the local economy, it was also intended to serve the tourists and to attract them to the area.

As the summer progressed, the communities resented the influence of the Extension Service in 1970, and many of the workshop directors had conflicts with this educational body. The main reason the Extension Service gave a bad impression was that they made certain promises which they were not prepared to keep, economically or otherwise. For example, they hired some of the local girls to work in the information centre and then refused to pay them after they had done two weeks' work, as they had miscalculated their budget. A favoured workshop director was fired for the same reason. To everyone, locals and festival participants alike, this was a breach of contract, a very serious moral offence to the local people especially. It proved to the communities that the Extension Service could not be trusted. Soon it was being blamed for everything that went wrong with the festival whether it was the Extension Service's fault or not.

Perhaps because they were given the impression in 1970 that the Festival was a M.U.N. Extension Service operation, I found that in 1971, the people of the area were either 1) vaguely interested in what those outsiders were doing; 2) totally disinterested; or 3) openly hostile to the whole thing and to all, or at least many, of the people who came to the area.

(Buehler, 1971)

During the winter previous to the second festival, a meeting was held to determine the structure of Festival '71. Here it was suggested that more facilities be set up for the summer residents who came to work on the festival. A youth hostel was requested along with a restaurant. The youth hostel was rejected by the communities on the grounds that it would encourage immoral activities and attract undesirable people. The "people" referred to here were the hippies who posed a tremendous threat to the natives of the area. They felt it was immoral to have unmarried boys and girls sleeping together under the same roof and remain unsupervised so that they could indulge in other illegal practices like taking drugs.

The only kind of people you tried to keep out were the Hippies, i.e., young people. I think I know all the arguments against Hippies; they have no money, they take drugs, they are immoral, they are dirty, they cause trouble.

(Buehler, 1971)

We had maybe fifteen or twenty young people move into an area around the beach and we had some very sensitive people from St. John's who have a summer home in the area. They complained like hell to get those people out of there. They paid their taxes to the community council so they demanded their rights--that these things shouldn't go on in their vicinity where they had young children. There were immoral acts being committed in front of their eyes, boys and girls sleeping together

and using marijuana.

(Festival Director, personal communication)

While the first year the festival maintained a certain recognized structure, in the second year, because of the catastrophe of the first festival, the event was intended to be "structureless", in the words of the director of the information centre. This structurelessness, however, pertained only to the sequence of events and not to the basic ground rules. It was also more an idea made legitimate by the Department of Community and Social Development and not by the communities. It is fashionable in community development these days to have programs with little or no formal structure. The communities agreed to the idea because they thought it would be less work for them to run a structureless event. This, they thought, gave them licence to change schedules and cancel performances when things did not go smoothly.

As a result of this lack of order and authority, each workshop director was ultimately responsible for his own classes. At times a director was put in the position of assisting a participant who was having difficulties dealing with the festival administration, but the directors who were most liked and accepted by the communities were those who never caused "trouble." The personal level, then, is where the real organization occurred. As a result, the festival administration developed into several independent bodies for action which primarily revolved around single individuals. Since there was no committee in reality that would act as a body, each individual in the situation was ultimately responsible in the long run to the tourist for a sense of community and festival. Since the festival committee avoided responsibility, the liability for the festival fell

on every individual. These singular people did not want the responsibility any more than did the committee, but it was given them by the visitors to the festival when they sought a 'responsible' party.

Festival '71 was decentralized primarily to alleviate inter-community rivalry; and so it was also decided that the events should be spread out over the area to include all the communities. The accommodations for the festival participants and the directors were spread out all over the peninsula in order for each community to have its allotted share of boarders. This prevented the people from working together closely and exchanging the full benefit of their experience. Physically separating the artists and the students from one another produced a kind of "mental distance," so that it was harder to form a tight knit group which could share experiences and good times. In 1970 this did not become a problem as most of the people slept together either on the beach or in the theatre building.

From the point of view of the visiting companies the boarding of 2/3 members into different houses poses the visiting director and stage manager great difficulties since contact with actors and technical crew is lost during the few critical hours before curtain up, this usually being the time when changes and compromises become apparent.

(Cox, 1971)

Comparison of the Festival and the Lion's Club Carnival

To further define the festival the author here intends to compare two events which occurred during the summer. One is the festival and the other is the annual Lion's Club Carnival. The definition of festival used here follows that provided by Harvey Cox, which will be explained further on in this chapter.

The Lion's Club Carnival, unlike the festival, was widely attended by local people and everyone joined in enthusiastically, working nights and in the rain to make the event possible, and to reap economic benefit. The carnival was for a three day period, and it was, like the festival, an annual event. There were organized games, refreshments and suppers after dark where everyone, regardless of age, role or status, got together for food and drink.

Since a large percentage (over 50%) of the over twenty-one population of the communities belong to either Lion's or Lionette's, nearly the entire population of the communities took part in the planning and the carrying out of events. For those three days, men, women and children gave up the daily routine to work on the affair and never complained about doing so, but instead mentioned how they enjoyed the short break. They found a certain relief in the short-lived festivities. There was much gaiety and many opportunities for joking and poking fun at people and at institutions which normally would, because of their prestigious position, be taken quite seriously. The highlight of one afternoon was when the mayor and the local fieldworker for the festival were both dunked in a barrel of water at a certain game.

Also at the Lion's Club affair there was no intimation of an educational experience. It was purely for fun and no lesson was meant to be learned from it. The festival, on the other hand, was presented by the government to the communities as an educational function, and the local residents took it seriously and not as entertainment, except for the occasional drama performance.

The series of workshops was called a festival because of the connotations of the word "festival." The organizers of the

affair reasoned that this word for most people connotes activity, excitement and fun (Franzen, 1971). It was this lure of celebration and entertainment that was intended to attract people to the area.

Cox states that there must be three elements present before one can define an event as a "festival." These are 1. Excess, 2. Celebration, 3. Juxtaposition (Cox, 1971, p. 24). Excess refers to both the obvious meaning of extreme quantity, and also to whatever bacchanalian connotations the word holds. Celebration and juxtaposition require somewhat more elaboration.

Celebration requires a set of common memories and collective hopes. It also demands a kind of unselfish participation that prevents our analyzing it while it is happening.

(Cox, 1971, p. 21)

Juxtaposition makes us more conscious of the continuity of a history by allowing us to step back from it temporarily.

(Cox, 1971, p. 24)

Juxtaposition does not occur within the event, but the event itself is a means of stepping out of history for the moment. In this way it is a special kind of relief, a release from the "trap" (Cox) of historic time.

Historic time has been defined by Eliade in Cosmos and History where he talks of 'ilko tempore' or the original time of man as opposed to the reversible or the mythic time of God or folklore.

A festival always takes place in the original time. It is precisely the reintegration of this original and sacred time that differentiated man's behavior during the festival from his behavior before or after it.

(Eliade, 1968, p 85.)

The time of man is constructed around what he perceives as his familiar world. It is based on what he has done in the past and what he will do presently and in the future, respectively.

History is the name we as human beings give to the horizon of consciousness within which we live. This historic horizon is surrounded, however, by a larger environment whose contours are harder to discern and whose name is less definite. Mircea Eliade calls it *cosmos*.

(Cox, 1971, p. 28)

In the area studied here the *cosmos* could be interpreted as the historic environment, the geography, folklore, tradition, economics and social structure of the seven communities which is taken for granted and not noticed in the day to day lives of the inhabitants. Rather than being a dynamic part of the backgrounds of these people, it is something which is so close to them, and so much a part of them that it eludes close examination by the people of the area. As a result of its position beneath the surface of social action, the values of tradition are often overlooked also by the anthropologist as a factor which motivates the culture of an area, whether it be Newfoundland or any other part of the world, to continually maintain a predictable structure. For this reason the author uses Levi-Strauss as one of the main guidelines of this thesis.

To bring the discussion back to Cox's definition of festival, at no time during the 1971 festival according to most of the participants and organizers did there exist anything which resembled excess. In fact, when weekend drama participants attempted Dionysian parties on the beach the fun was quickly ended by the festival authorities or by the RCMP who were called in by the local

authorities. One could not say that Cox's celebration was ever a factor in the festival either. Although there was a theme which could have been celebrated, the success of community development projects, this was only mentioned at the opening ceremonies. The festival, it should be obvious from this paper, was not a sequence taken out of time as was the Lion's Club Carnival. The author will point out exactly why the Carnival existed as such a phenomenon in a few minutes. The festival never provided an opportunity for the local people or the participants to stand back from the world and analyze what was going on, or just experience relief from the day-to-day running around as did the Carnival. In fact, the festival drove many people deeper into their daily lives as a reaction against the intrusion of the unfamiliar people and values into their familiar world. It never served, as did the Carnival, as a breather from the ordinary routine of life for most people. Those local residents who did not ignore the festival and who attempted to participate, found themselves involved in more routine problematic situations than they would have faced had they not become involved with the festival (see case study no. 5).

Perhaps one reason the event did not fit Cox's definition of festival was because of certain cognitive characteristics displayed by the host culture. According to Dyke (1963): the people of these outports cannot easily separate themselves from their traditions and their past. This can be seen in their technology, their material culture and their social values; all of which have remained relatively unchanged for hundreds of years, quite literally (see p. 17 of this thesis and census data in appendix). Cox states that in order to participate in celebration it is necessary to be able to separate

one's self momentarily from one's history.

Festival is a way we cool history without flexing from it. Festival is never an end in itself, it celebrates something that has a place in human history, past or present.

(Cox, 1971, p. 46)

In this sense the Lion's Club Carnival would be festival, while the community development project termed festival can be seen as a relatively mundane event.

One mistake the festival planners were guilty of was that they were using the event as an end in itself to provide the communities with financial resources. By Cox's definition, they should have integrated the function of the festival with the social structure and the culture of the communities so that the people could adapt to the presence of the new event. Instead, the economic approach taken to introduce the event into the communities did not include an orientation program for the communities or, for that matter, for the Department of Community and Social Development either, so the festival remained divorced from the real core of community structure.

The Lion's Club Carnival, it can be seen, is more nearly the definition of a festival as given by Cox. There is excess in the amount of work, food, drink and gaiety; however, the excess is acceptable, unlike the Dionysian beach parties of the festival. There is juxtaposition in the fact that all communities give up their daily routines to help with the carnival. Celebration was apparent in the abandon with which the event took place and the unselfish participation of each member. Also because the organization was a local club, all the people knew each other and had something in common, a quality not inherent in the festival structure, where many

times strangers were interacting with strangers.

Now everyone in the area can come out for the Lion's Club is the Lion's Club thing is for three days. Two day's activities out doors. It's much easier to get a group of people. I don't see how you can compare the festival to the Lion's Club Carnival.

(Festival Director, personal communication)

Part of the reason that the festival was not such a success was that it extended for too long a period of time. Most festival events were also indoor affairs and not readily viewable while the Carnival took place out of doors. The Carnival provided a brief interlude, but the festival persisted all summer. The festival, also, did not come from the collective histories of the communities, but from the government and academic institutions of St. John's and Ottawa. The Lion's Club affair was a totally local event, the club being successfully incorporated into the society of the communities. The socio-economic stress that was put on festival productions was not attached to the Lion's Club Carnival because of the responsibility the festival organizers had to the government fund-granting agencies.

Where disillusionment was a product of the festival, it was quite the opposite with the Carnival. Where people were contemplating cancelling future festivals, they were no sooner done with the Carnival than they were coming up with enthusiastic suggestions for next year's event. While the Lion's Club and other service clubs were asked to participate in the festival, they always declined to help the outside artists. One of the festival artists suggested that this was because they felt inferior to the professionals employed by the festival.



REPRESENTATIVE VALUES AND VALUE CONFLICTS

Case Study Number 1. The effect of intercommunity rivalry on the festival.

While on the surface the seven communities involved in the summer festival appeared to be a closely cooperating group, both socially and economically, it can be seen on closer examination that there were undercurrents of rivalry. This rivalry was evidenced in the striving of individual communities for top prestige in economic and social status, especially within community development programs such as the festival. Jealousy occurred often when one community was favoured by outside organizations and political representatives from St. John's. Jealousy especially existed between communities A and B.

To a greater or a lesser extent peasant life is characterized, within the village by a bitter quality of mutual suspicion and distrust which makes it extremely difficult for people to cooperate for the common good.

(Foster, 1962, p. 51)

This jealousy between A and B exists because for nearly 250 years B was the social and economic centre of the area and only recently, within the time of confederation and community development schemes has it relinquished its position to the younger community A (see pp. 17-18 of this thesis). The economic base of these two communities differs in that B relies on fishing and A (the shopping centre of the

area) relies on merchant activity or farming. Although long ago (at least two generations if one can believe local stories) some people from B migrated to A, few kin ties bind the two communities, and in general they operate politically independently of each other. The main uniting force for these two communities is also the main binding force among all the communities. This is the government development programs which call for cooperation to make effective their economic goals.

The festival as a development program also needed cooperation to work efficiently. Where community and government economic goals were at odds, the festival organization suffered. For instance, the festival was first called the community A festival of the arts. The other communities in the area protested that they had just as much a part in the festival as the community it was named after, so the name was changed to include all the communities by incorporating the name of the entire area into the title of the festival. A hypothetical example of this would be The Northern Bay Festival of the Arts, instead of Community A Festival of the Arts.

Here is a representative example of this intercommunity rivalry where economic activity is concerned. It involves a merchant who drove transport trucks for a St. John's firm. For seven years he had been delivering produce to the area. He had visited community A once a month in his business. In these years he became acquainted with six of the seven communities in the area. He had no reason to visit community B as most of his transactions took place in community A. Out of curiosity one day he asked Mr. Jackson who was the proprietor of one of community A's largest stores what it was like over in community B. The driver said Mr. Jackson's remark was,

"Oh, them, there's no one living there now. They've all resettled. You don't want to drive down there. It's twenty miles of dirt road and nothing there for all your trouble." One day the driver had a few extra hours so he figured he'd take a half a day and drive out to see what it was like. He exclaimed with surprise that there were really people living out there only six miles away and the road, although narrow and bumpy, was passable. Needless to say, he was a bit baffled by the proprietor's story, so in community B he asked a merchant why the proprietor gave him this impression. The merchant said, "Oh, they're just jealous of us because we've got it so good out here. The scenery is nicer. Everyone who comes here remarks on the scenery, and we've got a good harbour. Besides that in the winter their roads are impassable. We don't get as much snow and ice as they do." This last statement appears to be an exaggeration as the school bus driver had exclaimed it was dangerous and difficult to get to community B when it was slippery, and the road was always much worse than in community A which was flatter and had a paved road. The bus driver came from community C, so he was not directly involved in the dyadic rivalry.

The truck driver suggested that perhaps he was not the only tourist who was warned off community B. In truth, other tourists commented to the author that they were told the road was much worse than it really was.

By releasing this false information to visitors and discouraging them from going to the peripheral communities in the area, merchants in community A assured themselves of a larger share in the economic and the social profits. This theory behind the behavior of community A residents was suggested to the author by

community B residents who were interviewed in respect to intercommunity rivalry. While community B could never rival A seriously in enterprise, community A still felt threatened enough by the former status position, as explained previously, of community B, so that it felt it was necessary to protect itself in this manner.

This example provides important insight into existing conflicts both between communities and between community residents and the outsider. The local people are skeptical of the purported fairness and good will of the non-local merchant, even more so than of the resident merchant. This non-local economic representative is not only given all the characteristics of the traditional advantage-seeking merchant, but he is also someone to be feared and mistrusted because he does not understand or conform to the local social norms. Also, the local residents became dependent on the merchant who was put in the position of the patron and could easily take advantage of the inhabitants if he so wished.

A patron is someone who combines status, power, influence, authority--attributes useful to anyone--in 'defending' himself or in helping someone else to defend himself. But a person, however powerful and influential, is a person, only in relation to someone of lesser position--a client who, under specific circumstances, he is willing to help.

(Foster, 1967, p.228.)

Indeed the non-cash basis of the exchange itself acted towards the perpetuation of the relation, the fisherman always being in debt to the merchant or drawing on his credit. The accounting would seem to have been secondary, symbolizing more the necessity of the fisherman-merchant relationship than determining it.

Wade, 1969, pp. 16-17)

Community A sees itself as more important in the economic sphere as compared with community B. This is because it has become the market centre. It contains service stations, department stores, food stores and other specialized shops such as lumber and hardware. Community B has only a couple of stores. Most of the voluntary associations in the area are also located in community A. For instance, Legion Hall and Orange Lodge are both in community A. Recently, the entire school system and religious institutions have been moved also to community A. It was felt that this would make more sense due to A's geographic locale with respect to the other communities.

It was for this reason that the major attractions of the festival took place in community A. This was an obvious move on the part of the festival organizers to make access to the events easier, so the other communities resented the centralizing of events in A as they felt they were being cheated economically. They were the ones who really needed the benefits, and not A who they already saw as a favoured community by development projects initiated by the Department of Community and Social Development.

It was noticed by several workshop participants that

if they were residing temporarily with families in community A the families with whom their friends were staying in peripheral communities were most happy to have them for a meal and never thought of charging them for the food but simply appreciated their company. Conversely, other summer residents who were residing in the less central communities were complaining of not being as openly welcome in the homes of families who were taking care of their friends in community A. This was especially noted by the drama groups who were in residence for a few weeks from St. John's. It was indicated by the drama director that community A residents did not need the boarders' friends economically and, therefore, were not as friendly as the smaller community residents. Other festival personnel indicated it was because the residents of the smaller communities in the area attached some prestige to a visitor who was residing in community A, especially if he were an outsider to the area entirely, while the community A residents, a more cosmopolitan set of people, were not influenced by these values.



Case Study Number 2. The effect of festival disorganization on
tourist attitudes.

When tourists come to a recreation spot, whether it be for a meal, for activity or just to rest, they hold certain expectations such as a certain amount of organization and responsibility on the part of the resort area authorities. Because the tourists feel the people running the resort are catering to the needs of the guest; i.e. basing part of their economic activity on tourism, they feel they should be made to feel at home and welcome in the area with which they are unfamiliar. This attitude is supported by the author's experience in the field. When in conversation with tourists they mentioned that they did not feel as though the communities treated them as guests, but rather as intruders. "I didn't notice any attempts to make people feel that they were wanted and were welcome." (Buehler, 1971) Often the disorganization and the covert hostilities of this particular festival as a tourist attraction disrupted the role of the host on the part of the communities. The people would go that route only so far as their daily routine and convenience would permit them. The following example gives an illustration of these attitudes.

One day as the author was walking down the main street of community A, a tourist in a car stopped her and asked, "Where is the Festival?" In answer to this question the author replied that the festival was all over the general area and named the locations of some of the workshops. If he wanted specific information, the author suggested that the tourist could be taken to the main centre where he could make inquiries. The tourist insisted that he'd driven all

around the area and could not find the information centre building.

At the centre he asked if his family could obtain a meal at a local restaurant. He was informed that there was no restaurant within eighteen miles, but he could obtain a meal in a local house. He was annoyed that there was not even a coffee bar in the area, and he agreed to a meal in a residence at first, but later decided against it when he found it would be two hours before he could eat as he had to wait for the meal to be prepared.

He asked the director what type of recreation was available for his children other than registering for a workshop or going to the beach. He had been to the children's art centre, and the director there had turned him away saying that there was nothing much happening there that day. One local resident offered to take the family out for a one-half hour boat ride for ten dollars. Another offered a five dollar charge for a half day, but the family would have to wait until Sunday when the man was free. At times the author had the lease of a dory for a whole day for fifty cents.

The tourist inquired as to whether there was a campground where they could spend the night. He was directed to the National Park about twenty-five miles away. He preferred something closer, so the director offered to make arrangements to set the family up in a boarding house in one of the communities. The director phoned several residents but they were either not interested in taking any boarders or they were already filled up with tourists. Some of the local residents mentioned to the author when interviewed that they resented the festival forcing them to take in tourists as the people had to be fed separately from their family. They also had to be cleaned up

after, and this took too much time out of their daily routine. They said that they could not look after their own family properly when they were kept so busy.

The director asked, in this case, if the tourist would object to separating the family, his wife and one child in one house and himself and the other child in another. At this point the tourist was getting annoyed with the proceedings, as there was no organization about the festival, and suggested to his wife that they simply drive on the St. John's that night. If the tourist had a tent, the director at last suggested, he could camp on a certain beach location. The director failed, however, to give the man any information as to where facilities in the camping area were. The tourist was informed that camping was discouraged in large numbers because of limited sanitary facilities and small camping area.

Certainly the festival Centre can provide information for those who get as far as there, but all the people of the peninsula, and particularly all the business community, should be able and willing to supply information when asked. One way to make people feel wanted is to provide services and facilities for them. Make arrangements over the winter to house and feed people coming into the area. How many people came into the area last summer and left because there was no place for them to stay?

(Buehler, 1971) ♦

No printed brochure or map of the area was in existence to afford the tourist some idea of where things were, hence the question "Where is the festival?" Some of the festival personnel thought it humorous that the tourist would ask where the festival was. These people were already familiar with the lack of publicity and the

faulty instructions which were sometimes given out, and they were unfavourably disposed towards this aspect of the festival organization. This situation was serious if the communities were expecting to derive an income from the attraction, as they had stated they were. Certainly no finances could be made on a non-existent event, and for many tourists the festival was non-existent, or at least hidden.

So far as I have been able to ascertain, apart from a few free plugs on radio, there was no advertising for Festival '71 outside the immediate area. People in St. John's have little idea of what went on in the Festival. As a matter of fact, two weeks after the Festival ended people were still asking me what was happening up there.

(Buehler, 1971)

Part of the problem was that due to the type of image presented in the advertisements, most tourists expected a carnival-like affair and not the academic workshops which, in truth, were really the core of the festival (Franzen, 1971).

The communities are spread out so that it is impossible for a stranger to be able to gain a general visual overview of the surroundings. For this reason visitors often remarked that they felt lost. Because there were no mileage signs between communities, dirt roads often turned tourists back because they feared they might have to travel a great distance on them. Several tourists had been to the Northern Peninsula where they had encountered roads which were inferior to the ones they were used to by urban standards, and they feared damage to their vehicles.

While boat rides, horseback rides and tourist accommodations were advertised at the information centre, they were not as easily

procured as it was made to sound by festival advertising, as is evidenced by the preceeding example. The festival advertised easy accessibility to all tourist attractions because they thought that this would attract the tourist's interest. They advertised that there was something happening every minute of the day. This was aimed at arousing the tourist's excitement.

The communities, in fact, did not want vast numbers of tourists interfering with their attempt to eke out a subsistence living from the sea and the soil. As far as they were concerned, the advertising and the crowds were best kept at a minimum (shop proprietor from community D, personal communication). Even the stores, although they made quite a profit from the tourist, did not particularly enjoy the presence of the outsider, according to more than one shop owner. Often these outsiders they indicated, expressed dissatisfaction with products sold, or the price of items. The merchants took this as a personal insult to their honour and ability (Ibid). While local residents were pleased at the quality and the quantity of goods in the local shops, compared to how it used to be in the old days, the tourists insisted on comparing local commodities with those available in the cities.

While a local restaurant at one time had been under discussion, the only building vacant had been bought by a local entrepreneur and not for festival use (Buehler, 1971). The community was not interested in starting one as it would only be practical during summer months because local residents seldom ate out (Festival director, personal communication). Arguments made against it were in the form of its being too difficult to maintain

sanitary facilities and too expensive to buy kitchen equipment for the short time of service to make it profitable. The festival director suggested that it would encourage more people to come to the area than the local facilities could support. Perhaps, he indicated, some of these people would like it there and would want to settle in one of the communities, and the area was not ready for an expanding population. As a result, tourists found it was impossible to get a cup of coffee or a quick meal and often left the area in search of such facilities.



Case Study Number 3. Hippies as community outsiders.

One group of tourists who continuously had problems with community relations were the "hippies," as the local people called them. The local people defined "hippie" as a person who dressed in an unconventional manner, first of all. If he were a man, often he had long hair and a beard. These people were associated with illegal use of drugs and immoral activities such as premarital sex. Often they were likened to gypsies. These young adults were attracted to the festival because of its emphasis on the arts. Several of these hippies took part in dramatic performances, played in concerts or otherwise contributed to the festival. Others did not contribute as such but came to enjoy the scenery and the peacefulness of the area; or they came for social reasons, because other hippies were already there. These people often spoke, dressed or acted quite differently from the young people the community residents were used to, so the local people were somewhat afraid of this odd element penetrating their society and possibly affecting the values of the local children.

A group of hippies from St. John's were visiting the area for a weekend. They were classified by the community as hippies by the way they dressed, the type of linguistic expressions they used, and some of their actions such as playing guitars in groups and smoking marijuana. The people of the area were extremely afraid of this sort of person because they associated them with the drug culture and were wary of exposing their children to what they considered a dangerous element, according to the local fieldworker for the festival. Also they were afraid for themselves as these people

were unpredictable in the eyes of the local people, and, therefore, not to be trusted.

This group of hippies expected to be able to camp on the beach or to sleep in the theatre as had been allowed the year before. They neglected to bring a tent as the weather had been good when they left St. John's. When they arrived at the festival, however, the weather turned wet and they sought shelter for the night. A new law had been passed by the local community council, which foresaw over-use of the beaches and outdoor facilities; that no one could sleep on the beach unless by special dispensation from the mayor, and no one could sleep in the theatre because, according to the local people, something immoral might happen if boys and girls slept together under the same roof. It was too wet to sleep on the beach in any case, so they sought shelter in an abandoned building in community A.

"Out of courtesy for the local people," stated one of the girls, "I went to a neighboring house to ask permission." She said she figured that this would be just a formality and that permission would be given. "After all", she said, "it wasn't hurting his property" (meaning the neighbor). She inquired of the man if the group could stay in the vacant house. He replied, "I can't give you permission. I don't own the place, and Mr. Jackson who owns it is in Toronto."

"But do you think he'd mind if we stayed there just one night? We won't hurt anything and you can come to check it out yourself," said the girl. But he replied, "No. It's not my place to tell you whether you can or you can't. It's not my property." She asked, then, "Well, if we stayed there anyway, do you think we'd get in trouble? What I mean is, would you call the cops on us?"

The man refused permission on the grounds that he could not take responsibility for someone else's property, but according to some of the neighbors he was quite concerned that such a large group of people whom he didn't know and who looked "suspicious" might be spending the weekend so close to his property. The neighbors suggested that he felt threatened by the hippies' presence. The cops had been called on hippies before during the summer for a lot less reason than breaking and entering. She thought that this was very wrong of the man as all they were asking of him was a night's shelter, and they wouldn't hurt anything by being there. "Refusing permission is one thing," remarked the girl, "but calling the cops showed how "uptight" the people in community A are." She hinted that although the people in the area said they were a friendly lot and were hospitable to strangers, this proved they really weren't.

The local festival director said that the man certainly had reason to be frightened by the hippies because of trouble the local people were having with hippie campers on the beach. Apparently these transients were having late parties and becoming intoxicated and were not behaving in accordance with local standards of respectability, as indicated by the festival director. These unacceptable activities included smoking marijuana and the cohabitation of unmarried couples, he said. During one exceptionally loud party where some strong language was used, a tourist and his wife became offended and left the beach the next day.

Another time when it was suspected that narcotics were being used the RCMP were called in from a neighboring town and did indeed confiscate some drugs; however, several local boys were

picked up in connection with this party. The local people indicated that it was a shame that these young people were wasting their lives by associating with the drug culture and offered condolences to the boys' parents, suggesting that the children should show more respect for their families than to engage in such embarrassing, illegal activities. One parent of the boys' stated that his son would never have gotten into trouble if life were as it was in the old days when there was more work to be done and less leisure time and before the university in St. John's brought in a crowd of hippies from the mainland.

When asked of the local director by the author why the community did not handle the problem itself rather than call in the RCMP, he stated it was really the job of the police because if the hippies became violent the community would have no defense and someone might be hurt. To back up this fear he cited several incidents which had recently occurred and were publicized through the news media of hippies who robbed or used force on people. He said the community was afraid of the influx of all these young people because the media broadcast that 1500 of the hippies were expected to tour the province that summer and someone had calculated that the festival should get 150 of these people. The communities had no facilities to cope with such a massive entourage all at once. Sanitary facilities, camping facilities and eating facilities would be overcrowded. The communities envisioned a massive sweep of 150 hippies at once, whereas in reality there were perhaps 150 hippies, but they came in dribs and drabs so it never seemed like that many. The rumor was also going around that the Hells Angels from the mainland were coming to the

festival. It would appear from these rumors that the local people over inflated the importance of the festival and the extent of its publicity.

The local people did not rebel so much against the unusual appearances of the hippies, as against their values. One place where the values of the hippies conflicted with the values of the community was in their attitude towards money and material possessions. The residents resented the fact that the hippies who did stay preferred not to support the income of the communities by paying room and board. The hippies who placed little or negative value on both money and possessions felt at liberty to use such items as the abandoned house. The community residents, however, having to work very hard for their possessions and their capital, valued both highly, according to the local fieldworker for the festival. They recognized the hippies' disregard for possessions and were afraid these visitors might abuse things in the communities. They were also afraid of the young people being irresponsible and setting fire accidentally to one of the buildings. The residents felt all visitors should contribute something to the communities or to the festival, otherwise they were being very selfish by just taking, and not reciprocating. "The traditional value of the subsistence economy of the communities was that everyone should help each other economically, because if everyone were selfish the communities could not survive" (Wade, 1969). They resented the fact that the hippies were of such little economic value. The artists who participated in the festival generally took the side of the hippies in these conflicts as the young people often helped the artists with performances and workshops.

Fat cat tourists with cigars in their mouths and money in their bermudas come to see the festival and to be entertained. The young people who come want to get involved, they are the festival, they make it happen. And let's face it, in '71 it didn't happen, largely because the young people who came to get involved were made painfully aware of the fact that they were not wanted.

(Buehler, 1971)

It was suggested at one point, even, that tourists undergo a screening process to remove the undesirable elements. This, fortunately, for the reputation of the festival, was never carried through, as the festival director objected and was supported by other festival personnel.



Case Study Number 4. The effect of festival values on local economic and social values.

The festival encouraged local residents to be proud of their past culture. One of the projects which affected this was collecting materials from dumps, wells, attics, basements or ponds. What people usually came up with was glass bottles, ceramic jars, keys, cobbler's materials, harness fixings and old tools. These items are as valueless to the local people as a cast off Campbell's Soup can would be to any of us in the city.

The author was participating in a well-known puppet show in the area connected with the festival. After one of the performances a man, known to be a local craftsman from community B, came to the author and demanded some money (\$1.00). As it turned out, the money was for the purchase of a small artifact he contributed to the information centre. It so happened that the author was there when the artifact was presented and she made it known that she would buy it before it went on display. The centre director agreed to take it out of her weekly pay, but apparently forgot to transfer the money as she got charged for it, but the man had never been paid.

In the meantime, this director had been called away and was replaced by a young local co-worker who refused to take responsibility for his previous co-worker's actions. On the appeal of the case to the festival director, the same response was received. He did, however, offer to bring up the problem at a meeting scheduled for the fall which never took place.

Precisely what occurred in economic terms is this: the three operating social systems, that of the outsider, that of the

local resident and that of the administration were using different cues in their economic communications. What is baffling at first in this case is exactly who are the members of the dyad.

The seller saw the dyad as informally himself and the author; the old centre director envisioned it between the author and the old centre director; while the new centre director somehow found it formally between the old centre director and the author. Another dyad exists which adds a little more confusion to the affair, this is the contract between the seller and the centre, or the seller and the old director who accepted the item.

If a local person entered into a contract with a festival employee, director or ordinary outsider, there was no enhancing of his status. In fact, in some cases this could hurt a resident's social status if the person with whom he entered into contract was mistrusted, disliked or feared. In this case, the author fell into at least two of these three categories. I might add that these attitudes of the local people usually went together as a bargain package and often were applied to outsiders regardless of what their physical appearance or social connections happened to be. The peoples' fears of outside institutions can be allayed slightly by imposing personal and informal terms on otherwise formal and impersonal dyadic contracts.

The people were ready to accept contracts with individuals but could not be coaxed into trusting the festival as an independently functioning entity. Hence, the three local people involved in this example saw the contract as a personal exchange of, for the most part, informal values. The new centre director placed a formal value on

the contract because he assumed the buyer had engaged in an exchange which culminated in a receipt, since as a part of his training program to handle festival affairs he had been instructed to write receipts for everything.

The familiar way of doing things to the local person is to transact matters immediately. The unfamiliarity to the residents of having to wait for money or to present meal tickets, receipts, etc., to claim money aroused suspicion. Informal contracts are preferred because they are the familiar way of doing things and they imply trust relationships which are not a part of dealings with outsiders.

In this case the man preferred to see the dyad between two associations of friendship because he was rarely involved in the business of engaging in contracts of a formal dyadic nature, especially with outsiders. He was wary of contributing artifacts to the festival even if these articles were valueless to him because he was not sure how to respond to the institution as a formal entity and was distrustful of its laws. "Economic ties are personalized-- that is, relationships as economic agents depend on the social status and relationships of the person concerned." (Firth, 1951, p. 137)

Note here that the festival director, a local, did not try to calm the artisan's suspicion, but ignored the entire matter. By attempting to take a non-participant role in the affair, the director allowed antagonisms to grow. Because the director was 'clued in' to the outport system he recognized the contract as something which existed between the seller and the buyer and he would be crossing accepted social boundaries had he interfered.

To most urbanites it is inconceivable that such a small

thing as receiving money for old bottles could be detrimental to a rural society. However, what is found in these communities is that the adjustment made by the outporters to new economic values is not as yet a complete adjustment. Placing values on valueless items often deterred the local peoples' economic participation in the festival as well as their attitude towards tourists.

The man who donated the artifact which the author purchased deemed it worthless by his standards. The festival, however, insisted that he charge for it. So as not to break a law he felt it right that he be paid. Also he maintained the popular feeling that he was 'soaking' the festival, or in this case the outsider, for money. Normally the item would have been given away without a second thought. Actually the item would never have been collected. The man thought it was "foolish stuff" that he be paid for old junk.

So it appears that the real traditional value which operates here is that when an item has outlived its usefulness it is discarded. This emphasizes the practical side of life. Obviously, the festival, although attempting to preserve the old outport ways, did not, in fact, do this. It was concerned with a construction by artificial means of a sense of the "old ways" and did not recognize natural processes which find as their end result items falling into disuse or the destruction of items which were once useful. In the outporters' sense it is found to be only natural that some items be discarded or replaced by newer ones.

Case Study Number 5. Conflict between the festival and the artists
over rules and contracts.

Perhaps the most publicised conflict of the entire event occurred when the festival promised certain arrangements to a travelling Punch and Judy puppet show and then rescinded their offer without warning. The puppet show director felt the reasons for the festival director's treatment of him were unfounded.

The puppet show was sponsored by a grant from the government and its contract stipulated it would only perform in communities in the province which did not have exposure to cultural activities. Hence, the area where the festival took place was not included in the contract. However, at the request of the director of the information centre who was a friend, and because he thought the festival had great potential and wanted to help, the puppet show director agreed to perform when his regular tour was over for the price of room, and board for two days.

Accompanying him were some professional performers from Toronto. These were extras as the director maintained only one assistant. At the end of the two days the Torontonians who received no contract for room and board in exchange for performing, took up a collection from an audience in community A after one puppet show. This would help with their transportation back to Ontario. Many people gave freely and did not criticise the performers for collecting in such a manner. After all, they reasoned, there was no admission charged for the performance. The collection amounted to about ten dollars.

That afternoon the local festival director announced that

the puppet show director would not be paid as agreed because of the collection. The artist said the news was a surprise to him. When he confronted the festival director with the matter, the director stated that he never promised the artist remuneration for room and board, that it had been the old centre director who was no longer working there, so he really had no responsibility to pay. He said the performances were allegedly free performances, yet the artist had charged, and this constituted the breaking of his contract. The puppet show director pointed out that it was not he who took up the collection, but the professionals from Toronto, and they did not charge for admission, but asked people for donations of their own free will.

As the collection amounted only to ten dollars and the agreed upon price for room and board was twenty dollars, the artist requested that he be given the ten dollar difference. The festival director, however, stated that he was under no obligation to pay the artist because 1. the artist had broken the contract with the festival, and 2. it was not he, but the information centre director who made the arrangements.

Originally the term of performance was to cover two days. The artist, however, had decided to stay an extra two days at his own expense in order to perform in communities he'd missed while playing to the tourists in the larger centres. He, however, overheard a phone conversation where the festival director told someone that the festival was sponsoring the puppet show for those two days.

At first the festival director wanted the performance to be played in the theatre and to charge admission for the economic

benefit of the festival. The artist, however, would not perform in this manner as the traditional Punch and Judy shows were always held out of doors. The festival director was afraid that too many people would sneak in without paying admission in this manner. They finally agreed that the performance was to be free. The artist felt the director's attitude here was a little over mercenary. The director felt the artist was taking advantage of the festival situation to gain financial and artistic benefit.

After the incident mentioned here, the artist wrote a letter and forwarded copies to the festival committee, the Department of Community and Social Development, and to CBC for whom he was freelancing. In it he stated that the festival was dead. "I for one," he stated, "will never contribute anything to this festival again unless the management and the atmosphere changes radically. I would never think of recommending the festival to anyone simply because I have been screwed by your festival."

He suggested that next year very few artists would patronize the festival because of its reputation for breaking contracts, unless they were paid a fee as performing artists, which the festival could not afford. While he did not feel it was his place to bill the festival for his performances, he was nevertheless annoyed at the way he was treated because of the principle of the thing.

The festival director claimed that one or two tourists were offended by the collection, and the puppet show, therefore, damaged the festival's atmosphere and good reputation. He did not consider here the number of tourists it had attracted and who had been enthusiastic over it despite the lack of publicity. He also resented the fact that

he felt the artist was making money in competition with the festival.

This was clearly a case of being penny wise and pound foolish, because Mr. B--- was a very real asset to the festival during the brief period he was in the area. There was more of the festival spirit in evidence there than I have seen at any other time during my two summers with the festival. Ask around of the locals who saw this performance and they will tell you the same thing. When the hat was passed I threw in all the money I had because I was really entertained.

(Buehler, 1971)

While the festival was supposed to be sponsoring the first two days of performance, it did not take the initiative to advertise these events. The artists were a bit annoyed with the lack of publicity, but agreed to advertise the performance themselves. The director claimed that he did not want to spend festival money on advertisement for an event he could not reap economic benefit from in the form of charged admission prices.

With his complaint of a broken contract, the artist went to other members of the festival committee. Of the three people he attempted to seek assistance from, one lived in the community but apparently never was home when the artist called for him. Another stated he had not time to bother with festival trivia as his main concern was trying to make a living during the summer. The third was sympathetic but insisted he was only a figurehead and he had no real decision-making power. This, the man stated, lay with the festival director who consulted him over the phone occasionally, but who made the final decisions himself. The committee agreed to review the incident at the next meeting of the board which was

scheduled for that fall. The meeting, however, did not take place as scheduled.

The theatre director made some relevant suggestions concerning festival policy as it was displayed towards the artists. He stated that while the rules were made to help activities operate smoothly, the rules at times should be bent to the benefit of the artists and the festival. In this case he pointed out the rules were damaging to the morale of the festival workers. Even though the director managed to save the festival a few dollars in the end, the bad feelings created by the application of these rules could not be compensated for by the money saved. The festival director insisted that he had been ordered to follow certain rules by the director of the Department of Community and Social Development and that he would get into trouble with this government body if he were to break the rules indiscriminantly.

This attitude of passing the buck was quite common during the summer. Although it is not a practice peculiar to the outports or to the festival situation, it nevertheless caused confusion and disorganization. The festival director was not responsible for the puppet show as the centre director had hired it. The individual committee members were not responsible for festival policy as the director made the final decisions, and the director was not responsible because he was only under the direction of the Department of Community and Social Development.

It is interesting to note the difference in value orientation between the festival director and the artists. Where the artists valued the performance more than the economic benefit they might

gain from it (as can be seen by the puppet show director's willingness to stay an extra two days at his own expense), the festival director was primarily interested in the material gain to be derived from the performances. It was suggested by one festival artist that the reason for the director's emphasis on the economic aspect of performances was because, as the event was initiated under the community development programs, the government led the communities to expect certain material gains from the event; as from agricultural projects. The people of the area, not being familiar with the intangible aspects of the performances, advantages which are derived from cultural experiences which are shared by a community of people, did not see always where the greatest benefit lay. While they were used to the concrete gains of the community development projects initiated in the past, it was difficult for them to orient themselves towards receiving intangible benefits (Franzen, 1971).



CONCLUSION

Summary

The value system of a traditional people or of an "in group", can best be explained in consideration of the fieldwork which the author undertook in this experience by comparing the reactions of the local population to the presence of the author in the field area, to their reactions to the other outsiders who came up for the purpose of the festival. While the local people appeared tolerant of the outsiders, there existed undercurrents of hostility, both on the part of the insider and of the outsider, which affected operations of the festival.

The communities have a history of isolation and of a subsistence economic base, both in fishing and in agriculture. (By "subsistence", I mean here an economy which provided the bare minimum - not, of course, an economy which lacks production for exchange.) Contact with the outside world has been limited to that communication which was necessary for the area to survive economically. Extensive cultural contact has been only a recent occurrence since Confederation (see pp. 15-20 of this thesis).

The communities in recent years have developed unequally; some being given more opportunity to expand economically than others. For this reason, intercommunity rivalry now exists when it comes to community development projects. The other communities talked about in this thesis see one particular community, known in this report as community A, as having more advantages than the others. Reasons

for this, favouritism is that A is located in a more advantageous position with respect to the outside contacts necessary to make it a developing centre.

The communities tend to insulate themselves against any drastic change of their economic or social base, and therefore do not want the presence of bodies of power who intend to change their way of life. They often see the outsider as a threat to this security as he brings with him new ways of life and new ways of thinking. The local people discouraged the outsider from becoming a viable part of their community due to these differences in value orientation.

The festival, as one of these attempts to alter the communities' value system, or at least to expose them to other ones, was viewed with suspicion by many local residents. As it also operated more in line with urban economic and social standards, the local people found it hard to relate to some aspects of the event. Due to mistakes made the first year by festival directors, the local people felt that the outsiders were trying to take advantage of them, and thus forced the outsiders to relinquish their directorship of the event. However, it appeared during the second year that the local directors made as many mistakes as were made the first year due to inexperience and unfamiliarity with economic and value orientations of the outsiders.

While some people expected a carnival-like situation at the festival, others expected a more academic orientation. This variety of expectations caused some confusion as to what the festival should be about, exactly. According to the definition of "festival" by Harvey Cox, as used in this thesis, the event was not a festival.

The annual local Lion's Club Carnival was more in line with this definition of festival than was the community development event. The lack of orientation toward the social lives of the community residents was one cause for the failure of the event to match expectations. The festival had more of an economic orientation than a social one.

While the outsiders operated on one set of values, especially with reference to economic practices, the insiders used a different set of values. Whereas the outsiders were often formal and impersonal in their operations, the insiders were for the most part informal and personal, following their traditional way of enacting contracts. Because it was easier for each set of people (insiders and outsiders) to operate independently on their own set, familiar ways of doing things, often they could not see why the other person acted in certain ways, and they took personal offence to actions which were not intended to be of personal insult, but resulted from acting in accordance with the familiar way of doing things of the people in question.

Conclusions

The conclusions reached by the author were ones of social and economic value orientation. While they are labeled conclusions, it is important to note that in the outport society which is in rapid transition, no conclusions hold true for very long, except those which deal with the continuity of change. It is possible, then, that by the date of the publication of this thesis some of the conclusions reached here will already be obsolete. They will act, however, as a map of the culture as it was during the summer of 1971, as perceived by the author, with respect to the value

orientations of "insiders" and "outsiders".

The following conclusions represent the 1971 festival of the arts. They in no way are intended to reflect on other communities in different parts of the island.

1. The social and economic value systems of the communities are foundations which have been built up through many decades and are rooted in tradition. Therefore, they are not easily altered. For this reason the local people were unwilling to let the festival intrude on or change their normal pattern of behavior.

2. Aside from sharing common values and a common history, the people of the area are also closely united by boundaries of the physical or the geographic features of their world. Because their world is smaller, their cohesiveness tends to be greater than a larger and a more spread out impersonal society which has opposite problems of alienation and anonymity.

3. The type of conflict apparent throughout the festival was a recent development in the social and the economic world of the communities. Some of the reasons for this friction are the insecurity brought on by the new community development programs, resettlement programs, a changing economic base, changing social values, all of which introduce fear into the previously stable world of the insider.

4. Community residents resent having outside bodies govern development programs which exist for the benefit of the communities. They feel that the people who run the programs are outsiders to the area and have no real knowledge of what the communities need or how the people feel.

5. Outsiders who participated in the festival from either

artistic or social standpoints (ie. workers or visitors) found resentment aimed at them by the local people, not only because they appeared in some cases (hippies) different from the people the local population was used to seeing, but because they held different value systems, ones which worked in an urban setting perhaps, but which clashed with the way of life in the rural area.

6. The value system of the local people seems to be more oriented toward reaping concrete benefits from programs, while those of the urban outsiders appreciate to a greater extent the intangible benefits which could be gotten from the arts. While the local people are unfamiliar with the advantages of the arts, due to their belief that art is a form of entertainment and a leisure activity only, the urbanites did not understand the views of the local people and thought in some cases that they were criticizing the artistic endeavours unnecessarily.

7. The festival tried to turn the outport social and economic standards into urban ones at too great a leap, using cues understood and initiated by the government or by urban institutions, and not by the local population.

8. Latent conflicts, both locally and provincially, (as in the case of the hippies) were magnified as the area was a concentrated world due to its isolation and the necessary closeness of the people who were there for the event and of the people who lived in the area. Rumors started easily as the small incidents were magnified out of proportion. Perspective was easily lost.

9. Social structure cannot be separated from economic contractual relationships in the local value structure. "A culture is a logically integrated, functionally sensemaking whole." It is

not an accidental collection of customs and habits thrown together by chance. If the analogy is not carried too far, a culture may be compared to a biological organism, in that each of its parts is related in some way to all other parts." (Poster, 1962, pp. 13-14)

10. Because the merchants were already in a good position with regards to economic standing, they were more "conservative" in relation to the less well-to-do families or the recent immigrants to the area. These newer families and ones without local economic traditional status, were the entrepreneurs of the area, and were open to new ideas and change, but had no power in most cases to initiate.

11. The festival tended to separate social functions from economic ones. Alternative interpretations of outside social and economic standards by the local people, sometimes caused new values to be placed on old social and economic standards by the outport residents. Sometimes these values were merely "put on" for the benefit of the tourist or the government representative. For the most part, however, the values of the local residents overtly clashed with those of the outsiders causing disorganization and conflict in the festival situation.

12. The rural society studied herein rejected certain moral aspects of the modern urban society because of its traditional education. The family being a larger influence on the insiders, was one reason for the adoption of values of a traditional nature. As the family was not so much an influence on the young people, especially of the urban society, they were open to create their parents. Where local children came into contact with the young people of the outside world, they often adopted some of their values.

which caused schisms in the family and created embarrassment for the adults in their relationship to the social standards of the community.

APPENDIX

The following are population statistics of the communities of the field work area studied in this thesis. The data was obtained from government census readings for the years indicated. These statistics, however, are not always in the author's estimation complete or accurate. For example, the community of Flat Island shows no population reading for 1911, although in 1901 the population was 502 and in 1921 it was 373. Also, several communities such as Salvage and Bishop's Harbour are so geographically close that it is possible that Bishop's Harbour was included in the readings for Salvage between the years 1836 and 1874. Other communities which were formerly known by one name are now called something else. An example of this would be Eastport which includes the areas of Salvage Bay and Salvage Bay Road. Some communities like the islands, Broomclose, Barrow Harbour, Wild Cove, etc., are no longer settled, the residents having moved to one of the larger, more accessible communities. All these areas are designated on the map which is included in this appendix.

COMMUNITY	POPULATION													
	1836	1845	1869	1874	1884	1901	1911	1921	1925	1945	1945	1945	1945	1945
SALVAGE	181	298	453	470	401	303	277	243	192	176				
EASTPORT								291	345	436				
SANDBINGHAM										132				
SANDY COVE				32	43	82	123	131	160	163				
HAPPY ADVENTURE			51	91	126	223	75	277	297	379				
ST. CHAD'S						53	51	87	84	97				
BURKSTIDE									178	192				
FLAT ISLAND	26	108	230	255	356	502		373	371	339				
SAILORS ISLAND			52	53	68	76	50	31						
SALVAGE BAY			47	72	97	157	223							
SALVAGE BAY ROAD						43								
BISHOP'S HARBOUR					182	187	189	168	81	73				
BROOM CLOSE	7	23		10	12	55	3							
BARROW HARBOUR	37	72	53	33	33	14	23	20	4					
WILD COVE						13	7	6	13					
CLAY COVE									69					

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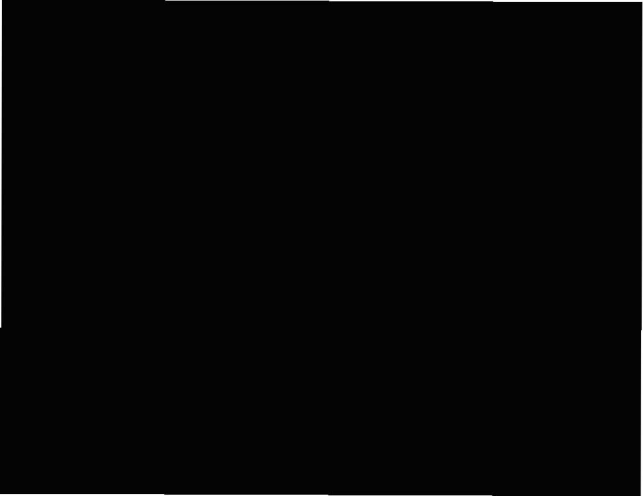
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